

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 175737
ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /015 R

66011

DRAFTED BY IO/UNA:BJSHARP

APPROVED BY IO/UNA:JFTEFFT

-----112078 122016Z /70

O 121906Z JUL 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 175737

FOR AMB YOUNG FROM UNA

FOL RPT LISBON 5101 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ADDIS ABABA BISSAU
BONN BRAZZAVILLE CAPE TOWN DAKAR DAR ES SALAAM HAVANA MAPUTO
PONTA DELGADA KINSHASA LAGOS LIBREVILLE LILONGWE LONDON
LUSAKA MADRID MOSCOW OPORTO PARIS PRAIA PRETORIA USUN NY
USNATO DIA WASHDC USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS COMUSFORAZ 11 JUL 78 QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 5101

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PEPR AO PO US

SUBJ: THE EANES-NETO SUMMIT: A FOREIGN MINISTRY VIEW

REF: LISBON 4859 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AFRICA DIRECTOR
BELIEVES GPRA PRESIDENT NETO HAD COMPELLING REASONS TO WORK
FOR A SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT WITH PRESIDENT EANES. NETO
REPEATEDLY MANIFESTED HIS DESIRE TO SEE THE MEETING SUCCEED.
THE GOP WILL PRESS HARD, BUT CAREFULLY, TO MAINTAIN THE
MOMENTUM GENERATED IN BISSAU. END SUMMARY.

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1. EMBOFF MET WITH DR. PAULOIRO DAS NEVES, DIRECTOR OF THE
FOREIGN MINISTRY'S AFRICA AND ASIA DIVISION, JULY 10 TO
DISCUSS THE EANES-NETO SUMMIT. NEVES, WHO ACCOMPANIED
PRESIDENT EANES, BELIEVED NETO WANTED A SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT
AS MUCH AS THE GOP DID. NEVES' ANALYSIS:

2. GROWING ISOLATION: NETO AND THE MPLA ARE UNCOMFORTABLE

WITH THE GROWING POLITICAL COSTS OF THE SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE. BECAUSE OF THAT PRESENCE, ANGOLA HAS BEEN UNABLE TO GENERATE MUCH WESTERN SUPPORT AND IS LOSING WHATEVER PRESTIGE IT HAD IN AFRICA. CUBAN EFFORTS TO PROVIDE BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES AND PROMOTE ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL.

3. ISOLATION COMPOUNDED: IN THIS CONTEXT OF GROWING ISOLATION, TWO RECENT EVENTS HAVE COMPOUNDED THE FEARS OF NETO AND THE MPLA:

--THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAID ON KASSINGA; AND

--WESTERN AND AFRICAN REACTION TO SHABA II.

THE ANGOLANS FEEL THAT AN INTER-AFRICAN FORCE, UNDER WHATEVER GUISE, WILL BE DIRECTED AT THEM. THE SPECTRE OF A ZAIRE BASED INTER-AFRICAN FORCE, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY SUPPORTED BY THE WEST, COUPLED WITH THE ALWAYS-PRESENT SOUTH AFRICAN THREAT IN THE SOUTH, HAS FRIGHTENED THE ANGOLANS. NETO'S KNOWLEDGE THAT FAPLA TROOPS ARE RELATIVELY INEFFECTIVE AND GROWING DOUBTS THAT THE CUBANS WOULD FIGHT THE SOUTH AFRICANS OR AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE HAVE ADDED TO HIS WORRY. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, NETO'S PARTICIPATION IN THE BISSAU SUMMIT WAS A SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO FIND MANEUVERING ROOM.

4. NETO MAKES HIS POINT: DURING THE BISSAU MEETINGS, NETO REPEATEDLY IMPRESSED THE PORTUGUESE WITH HIS GOOD CONFIDENTIAL

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WILL:

--PORTUGUESE PRISONERS: THE GOP AND GPRA PRESENTED DIFFERING LISTS OF PRISONERS HELD BY THE GPRA. UPON DISCOVERING THIS, NETO IMMEDIATELY ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION OF THE GOP CASES NOT ON THE NAGOLAN LIST, AND ASSURED THE GOP OF PROMPT REPORTS.

--ECONOMIC ISSUES: AT NETO'S INSISTENCE, THE GPRA AGREED TO A FORMAL JOINT INVESTIGATION OF NATIONALIZED PORTUGUESE ASSETS IN ANGOLA. THE GPRA HAD PREVIOUSLY REFUSED TO DISCUSS THE NATIONALIZATIONS, WHICH NEVES SAID RAN INTO THE "BILLIONS AND BILLIONS OF CONTOS (1000 ESCUDOS)".

--COOPERATION AGREEMENT: WHEN ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER PAULO JORGE BALKED AT SIGNING THE JOINT COOPERATION AGREEMENT, CLAIMING THE MPLA POLITBURO MUST FIRST APPROVE, NETO OVERRULED HIM AND AGREED TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT IN BISSAU.

5. NETO IN COMMAND: NEVES WAS IMPRESSED BY NETO'S INTELLECT AND POLITICAL SKILL. NETO WAS IN CHARGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND FONMIN JORGE DID NOT MAKE A MOVE WITHOUT FIRST CHECKING WITH NETO. IN THE CONVERSATIONS, NETO'S IMPORTANCE AS A BALANCER OF FORCES WITHIN THE MPLA WAS CLEAR.

6. NETO'S HEALTH: NETO APPEARED TO BE IN GOOD HEALTH, NEVES SAID, ALTHOUGH OTHERS WHO KNEW HIM THOUGHT HE HAD AGED CONSIDERABLY AND NOTICED HE SPOKE AND MOVED MORE SLOWLY THAN BEFORE.

7. PORTUGUESE SATISFIED: THE GOP IS PLEASED WITH THE SUMMIT RESULTS, AND WILL MOVE QUICKLY BUT CAREFULLY TO IMPLEMENT THE COOPERATION AGREEMENT. (COMMENT: A REVIEW OF NEXT STEPS AND AN ASSESSMENT OF THE GOP ABILITY TO PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE TO ANGOLA WILL BE SUBJECT OF SEPTTEL).

8. SPILLOVER ON MOZAMBIQUE: PRESIDENT EANES BRIEFED
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MOZAMBIKAN AMBASSADOR PANGUENE PRIOR TO THE SUMMIT. NEVES SAID THE GPRM SUPPORTED THE PORTUGUESE EFFORT. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IS NOW "STUDYING" THE POSSIBILITY OF A EANES-MACHEL MEETING. GPRM FONMIN CHISSANO HAS ALREADY BEEN INVITED TO VISIT PORTUGAL AND A EANES-MACHEL MEETING MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IF CHISSANO VISITS PORTUGAL ENROUTE TO OR FROM UNGA.

9. RISING STAR: EMBOFF MENTIONED THAT DURING AMBASSADOR MCHENRY'S JUNE 22-25 VISIT TO LUANDA THE ANGOLAN SIDE HAD BEEN LED BY NASCIMENTO AND PASCOAL LUVUALU. NEVES COMMENTED THAT THE GPRA APPEARS TO BE GROOMING LUVUALU FOR A LARGER ROLE IN ANGOLAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND BELIEVED LUVUALU MAY SHORTLY ASSUME A POSITION AS VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. NEVES HASTENED TO ADD THAT THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE WILL BE REPLACED, ONLY THAT THE PRESS OF BUSINESS KEEPS JORGE OUT OF ANGOLA A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF THE TIME.

10. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH NEVES EMPHASIZED THAT MUCH OF THE ABOVE WAS PERSONAL OPINION, HIS VIEWS ARE WIDELY SHARED IN THE MINISTRY. OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE IS THAT THE BISSAU SUMMIT FIRMLY ESTABLISHED THE GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND ANGOLA REPLACING THE FORMER MPLA-PCP MONOPOLY. MUCH TO THE DELIGHT OF FOREIGN MINISTRY PROFESSIONALS, THEY ARE NOW INTIMATELY INVOLVED IN THE EVOLVING GOP-GPRA RELATIONSHIP.
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UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, SUMMIT MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE175737
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: BJSHARP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780286-0059
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780768/aaaacfdl.tel
Line Count: 166
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 77d77e76-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 LISBON 4859
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2032046
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE EANES-NETO SUMMIT: A FOREIGN MINISTRY VIEW
TAGS: PEPR, AO, PO, US, (EANES, ANTONIO DOS SANTOS RAMALHO), (NETO, JOAO LUIS),
To: GENEVA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/77d77e76-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014